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AUTHOR Willett, Thomas L.
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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the intra-clausal relations of minimal locutionary and illocutionary force in Southeastern Tepehuan. It surveys the semantic and syntactic sentence types with primary reference to grammatical relations. The semantic propositional structures, along with their modal parameters and other semantic prosodies are discussed in Section 1. Then the basic syntactic forms of sentences and their related grammatical elements are outlined in Section 2, along with a mapping of the set of semantic sentence types onto the set of surface sentence types. (VWL)

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SENTENCE COMPONENTS IN SOUTHEASTERN TEPEHUAN

Thomas L. Willett

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0. Introduction

In a complement paper on the Southeastern Tepehuan clause structure (Willett, this volume), the semantic and surface types of basic predications were discussed. The present paper begins to explore inter-clausal relations of minimal locutionary and illocutionary force. It surveys the semantic and syntactic sentence types with primary reference to grammatical relations.

The semantic propositional structures, along with their modal parameters and other semantic prosodies are discussed in Section 1. Then the basic syntactic forms of sentences and their related grammatical elements are outlined in Section 2, along with a mapping of the set of semantic sentence types onto the set of surface sentence types.

1. Semantic Structures

The semantic sentence is seen as the minimum unit of speech with illocutionary force and a locution, where a locution may contain one or more related events or descriptions (Thomas 1975:114). That is, the essence of a semantic sentence constitutes a minimal "speech act", where the precise formulation of such speech acts in each language have much in common with each other. The specific components for the SE Tepehuan sentence can be broken down into locutional (i.e., propositional), modal and prosodical information.

1.1 Basic Propositional Types

The locutional information consists of the six basic propositional types, with possible compounding and setting. The basic propositional types are the nuclear sentence types of the language, containing its distinctly sentential relationship (Thomas 1979). These six basic types, which contain the propositional content to be communicated, are: statement, temporal sequence, covarying, conditional, purposeful, and deductive.

The statement is the structurally simple, and most common, semantic sentence type. That is, it consists of just one semantic clause with the

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addition of other sentence components (discussed below). Thus, for example, the sentences in (1) and (2) are semantic statements in their basic structure.

(1) **va-jí-a gu-juan**
CMPL-went-PLR ART-John
'Did John already leave?'

(2) **e-co-ñ-mo tu-vopcon-mɨr-a'**
INJC-CONN-1s-EV DUR-wash(pl)-REM-FUT
'Well, I'll go wash now'

The temporal sequence is similar to additive compounding (Section 1.2) but with the added component of sequential time movement. That temporal sequence is distinct from additive compounding is evident in the use of linkage for closely related events, as in (4), whereas this linkage is never used for strictly additive compounding. Further, as both (3) and (4) show, the conjunction used in a temporal sequence has both the morpheme **guio** 'and' and **va'** 'then' (phonologically attached into one conjunction), whereas in additive compounding, the occurrence of the second of these morphemes is apparently not obligatory.

(3) **dɨhl bai'-ji-guɨ'hli-a' gu-mi'-dɨvɨr-ta'm-dɨr,**
vɨpɨ' gu-jága'n, guio-va' na mora'n-ta-y,
gatuc-va' gu-tɨtnip ba-va-vusñi-a'[1]
self twd-INCEP-grow+up-FUT ART-there-ground-on-from,
first ART-leaves, and-then that branch-make-FREQ,
last-then ART-ears twd-CMPL-come+out-FUT
'It grows up by itself from the ground, first the leaves, then the branches sprout, finally the ears come out'

(4) **day na-m va'iar-a', guio-va' no'-mɨt va-'iar jíca-'-am**
just that-3p CMPL-fell-FUT, and-then COND-3p CMPL-fell,
cut+off-FUT-3p
'They just cut them down, and when they have cut them down, they cut off the leaves'

As expected, and illustrated in (3), temporal sequence is not limited to two events, but can extend to several successive events. This may be limited, however, both by the extent of the phonological sentence and the semantic nature of the utterance. That is, a speaker is physically restricted in the amount that can be included in any spoken string of predications.[2] Further, in most discourse the speaker elaborates, at least briefly, on some or all of the events related in a temporal sequence, so that probably not more than three or four are likely to occur together in any one sentence. For example, (5) is the beginning of a description of a Tepehuan speaker's trip from his home to Mexico City, in which he relates some sections of the trip rapidly, and others with more detail. Notice that in (5) only one additive conjunction is used; only four occur in his description of a trip that took several days, three of them accompanied with the additional sequence phrase "from there" meaning "after that". This may be because he saw the trip in distinct stages. For instance, leaving Pine Grove and staying in Durango were all the same stage because Durango is the "big city" which is the natural destination of most Indians who leave their home area.

(5) **ya'-dɨr juctɨr na-chich jí,**
bammɨ corian jachich juruñ goc tanohl,
guio-va' bai'-dyɨr na-chich va-jí para méjic
here-from Pine+Grove that-1p:PERF stay:PERF two days,
and-then there-from that-1p:PERF CMPL-went to Mexico+City
'We went from here in Pine Grove, stayed two days in Durango,
and then we left from there for Mexico City'

The covarying sentence compares the freely varying event or state of one predication to the conditioned variable of another predication. This comparison can vary along two parameters: (1) that of being static or dynamic in nature (corresponding to the basic predication type of the clause), and (2) whether the comparison is one of simple degree, or one of quality, location, time, or person. This type of semantic sentence is not as common as the others, probably because the speaker of SE Tepehuan prefers to state the conditioned variable only (leaving implicit the free variable to which it is being compared), or to put the comparison in alternate terms. This is evident in the sparsity of native syntactic forms for making comparisons. That is, when a comparison is made, often a borrowed form is used. For example, (6) shows a typical static comparison of simple degree using a native expression for "less", where what is in parentheses is optionally added for clarification, utilizing the Spanish adverb **más** for "more".

(6) **cham-pɨc jir-mui'-am gu-'u'ji' ya'-pue'mlo,**
(day mummu 'u'xchɨr na-m más jir-mui')
NEG-DIM COP-many-3p ART-birds here-town,
(just there: REM forest that-3p more COP-many)
'There aren't as many birds here in town; only over there in the
forest are there more (than here)'

Often a sentence that is semantically a comparison in many languages is viewed as a conditional in SE Tepehuan. Thus (7) recasts the dynamic comparison of quality into a conditional sentence with alternative compounding.

(7) **mu'a'-ich no'-chich-pai' tɨ,**
piamcugu'-r mui'-am jacóda-'-ich jɨ'c na-ch ja-tɨgui-a'
kill(sg):FUT-1p COND-1p:PERF-where find:PERF,
or+if-COP many-3p, 3p-kill(pl)-FUT-1p as+many that-1p 3p-find-FUT
'We kill it if we find one; or if there are several, we kill as many
as we find'

Examples of semantically covarying sentences are seen in (8), a static covariance of location, and (9), a varying covariance of quality.

(8) **mi' na-pai' tu-gá gu-chio'ñ,**
jir-mi'-pui' na-m-pai' tɨ-'ɨxi-a'
there that-where DUR-cornfield ART-man,
COP-there-thus that-where DUR-plant-FUT
'There where the man has a cornfield, that's where they will plant'

(9) **pui'-ñi-ja'c na-jax ja-mandar gu-dios gu-ja'tcam,**
jir-pui'-ñi-'ɨp na-jax-ja'c guɨguɨ'r gu-'ɨxchuc
no'-pai' va-'ɨx
thus-SPEC-way that-as 3p-rule-Ø ART-God ART-people,
COP-thus-SPEC-also that-as-way grow ART-seed
COND-where CMPL-planted
'In the same way that God rules people, so also is the way that a seed grows when it is planted'

The conditional sentence consists of a condition clause and a result clause, but there is no logical connection between the clauses as in the purposeful or deductive sentences. There are three types of conditional sentences, varying according to the assurance parameter (Section 1.3), reflected in the verb tense combination of the result and the condition clause. In the certain assurance type, a dynamic predication is in the past perfective tense in the condition, and is in the future tense in the result clause, as in (10).

(10) **no'-ñich ja-'ardi, jiñ-qui'mna-'-am**
COND-1s:PERF 3p-pursue, 1s-bite-FUT-3s
'Whenever I pursue them, they bite me'

This sentence reflects the speaker's assurance that this condition is a certain fact, and thus the result is assured as a natural consequence. This is seen in the use of this same form for linkage in a temporal sequence, as in (4) above. Another form of the certain assurance type of conditional sentence uses static predications in their non-tense forms (i.e., present state of existence). This type of conditional is often used to state a generally known fact, as in (11).

(11) **gu-gagox-quɨ'n na-r pásil no'-x 'ɨ'bi-'**
ART-dog-INSTR that-COP easy COND-COP smell-ability
'It's easy (to hunt) with a dog if he knows how to follow a scent'

The uncertain assurance type expresses the condition in the present tense, with the result again in the future, with either a dynamic or a static predication. In (12), two closely linked conditional sentences in this construction are used to describe the tricky job of hunting wild pigs in the mountains. The speaker thus shows less certainty of their being found or shot. In (13), the condition is a static predication, but the result, in future dynamic tense, reflects uncertainty. This is clear from the use of negative in the second sentence, clearly spelling out a viable alternative to the first condition.

(12) **no'-m mi-pai' 'oipo, ja-códa-'-am.**
jai' ji-voi'ñohli-a'-am no'-m cham dadacma gu-cacraviñ-cam
COND-3p there-where be(walking:pl), 3p-kill(pl)-3p.
others INCEP-run+away(pl)-FUT-3p COND-3p NEG good+shot(pl)
the-rifles-ones
'If there are some there, they will kill them; others will flee if the riflers are not good shots'

(13) **no'-dyo-ji cham mi-dyá gu-quiocam, mi'-dyɨr ja-'u'da-'.**
paimcugu' mi-dyá, dyo-gu' bai'-ji-bɨ-ya'-dyo gu-caraviñ,
mu'a'-dyo güi'
COND-RSP-AFF NEG there-be(sitting) ART-resident, there-from
3p-eat+up(pl)-FUT.
but+if there-be, well-but twd-INCEP-grab-FUT-RSP ART-rifle,
kill:FUT-RSP him
'Now if the resident is not there (at home), then (the chicken hawk) will eat up (the chicks); but if he is there, he will certainly grab his rifle and kill him'

The third type of conditional sentence represents a conjecture on the part of the speaker. This is reflected in the use of the subjunctive mode with the future tense in both clauses, regardless of whether the speculation refers to a future or a past possibility, as in (14) and (15) respectively.

(14) **no'-ñ via'-ca-'-guɨt ma'n,**
vɨx chanohl tu-sav-da'-iñ-guɨt-ji
COND-1s have-STAT-FUT-SBJNCT one,
all day DUR-play-FUT+CONT-1s-SBJNCT-AFF
'If I had one (radio), I surely would play it all day long'

(15) **no' 'añ mu-jimi-a'-guɨt tacav mu-mercádo,**
ya'-aichdya-'-iñ-guɨt gu-carum
COND I away-go-FUT-SBJNCT yesterday there market,
here-deliver-FUT-1s-SBJNCT ART-bananas
'If I had gone to the market yesterday, I would have brought back some bananas'

The purposeful sentence is characterized by a purposeful sequence of actions: a previous state (or cause), a correcting event (or result), and an expected state (or purpose). The purpose clause is the negation or the amplification of the situation in the cause clause. For example, in (16) the result clauses (by additive compounding) are the negation of the cause clause, while in (17) the result clause is the fulfillment of the state of desire in the cause clause.

(16) **va-mumcu-ji gu-ñ-mar,**
maic-ap jiñ-'oidya-' na-p ba-dagui-a'
gu-ñ-'ahlí-chuc na va-dudyi-a' na cham muqui-a'
CMPL-dying-AFF ART-my-offspring,
come:IMPER-2s 1s-accompany-FUT that-2s there-touch-FUT
ART-my-child-PSD that CMPL-get+better-FUT that NEG die-FUT
'My child is dying; come and touch her so that she will get better and not die'

(17) **guio-va' gu-mfmiv na-x ja-ná,**
mu-vapsa-da' gu-bai-'ñ-quɨ'n ja-bia-da',
ja-cua'-da'va'
and-then ART-bees that-COP 3s-like+to+eat,
away-put+in(iterative)-FUT+CONT ART-tail-his-INSTR
3p-pull+out-FUT+CONT, 3p-eat-FUT+CONT-then
'Also (the opossum) likes bees; he puts in his tail (into the hive) and gets them out to eat'

Purposeful sentences can leave out the cause clause if it is part of the speaker's encyclopedia (Section 1.4). Thus in (18) the speaker assumes his hearer knows that the corn is ritually forbidden until it is taken to the sacred dancing place to be blessed.

(18) **mai'-va-tu-vua-'-ich na-m vindisír-o' nɨi'car-tam,**
na-va' cham ca-xidyú-ca' gu-junva'
out-CMPL-DUR-throw-FUT-1p that-3p bless-FUT dancing-place,
that-then NEG TEMP-ritually+forbidden-FUT ART-corn
'We take the corn to the sacred dancing place to be blessed, so that it will not be ritually forbidden (to eat)'

The deductive sentence is the hardest of the semantic sentence types to discern, since it more often than not occurs in elliptical form with the general grounds (or major premise) in the encyclopedia of the speaker, as in (19). Sometimes, however, the full form of the deductive sentence is seen: general grounds, specific grounds (or minor premise), and deduction (or conclusion), as in (20).

(19) **chacuy 'oirɨ na ca-r-'ɨli'ch**
not+yet walk that TEMP-COP-little
'He doesn't walk yet because he's still (too) little'
(deleted: since little children this size seldom can walk)

(20) **no'-ñ mui'-va-jim, cugu'-x jɨ'nguiarum-'am-ji,**
ji-voi'ñ̃ohli-a'-am
COND-1s away-CMPL-go, because-COP untamed-3p-AFF,
INCEP-run+away-FUT-3p
'If I go out there, they will run away because they are wild'

1.2 Compounding Within the Proposition

Compounding of the six basic propositional types of semantic sentences may occur in any or all of their constituent clauses without altering the propositional structure. Compounding is of four types: contrastive, equivalent, alternative, and additive. A further semantic element that can be added to the basic propositional information of the semantic sentence is the peripheral information of setting.

Contrastive compounding consists of contrasting both the subject and the predicate of two clauses. Thus in (21), for example, the predicate of the second clause is entirely unrelated to that of the first clause, and the

subjects are also different; in (22) the second predicate is the negation of the first, with a different subject; and in (23) the second predicate is the opposite of the first, again with a different subject. A contrasting subject in the second clause may also be simply the universe of all possible subjects except the subject of the first clause, as in (24).

(21) va-jí pue'mlo gu-juan,
gu'-ji nagu' gu-pegro va-gága-m gu-vac
CMPL-went town ART-John,
but-AFF that-but ART-Peter CMPL-look+for-DESID ART-cow
'John went to town, but Peter went to look for a cow'

(22) va-jí pue'mlo gu-juan, gu'-ji na-gu' gu-pegro cham-tu' mu-jí
...NEG-AUG away-went
'John went to town, but Peter didn't (go to town)'

(23) va-jí pue'mlo gu-juan, gu'-ji na-gu' gu-pegro mi'-ca-ví
...there-TEMP-stayed
'John went to town, but Peter stayed there'

(24) va-jí pue'mlo gu-juan, gu-jai' cham-ji
...ART-others NEG-AFF
'John went to town, but the others didn't'

Equivalent compounding may be strict or loose, varying from repetition with added information to total rephrasing. Also possible is the use of synonyms, negated antonyms, and generic-specific equivalence, among other devices not yet fully explored. Examples (25) to (29) illustrate the five ways just mentioned in that order.

(25) guio-va' gu-bai-'ñ na-r rimédio gu-gavñi',
no'-chich va-ch-gav na-r rimédio gu bai-'ñ
na-ch 'ɬquɨ-ji, jich-júhli-a'
and-then ART-tail-his that-COP remedy ART-sprain,
COND-1p:PERF CMPL-1p-sprain:PERF that-COP remedy ART-tail-his
that-1p cut-AFF, 1p-rub+on-FUT
'Also (the opossum's) tail is a remedy for sprains; if we sprain ourselves, his tail is a remedy—we cut it and rub it on ourselves'

(26) jix-xijay na-ch 'oihlidya-',
mɨc mu-ja'p 'u'x-chɨr na-m jix-joi'ñ
COP-hard that-1p get+there,
far away-gen+area trees-among that-3p COP-like
'It's hard to get there (to find the deer); they like to roam far off in the forest'

(27) jix-chɨ-'ɬbi'ñ, jir-jɨguiarum
COP-DUR-afraid, COP-untamed
'(The mountain lion) is afraid continually (of people); he's wild'

(28) **misturabón na ja-cua' gu-carvax gu-'ɨ'lich,**
gu-guë'guër cham-tu' ja-cua', day gu-'ɨ'lich
mountain+lion that 3p-eat ART-goat ART-little(pl),
ART-big(pl) NEG-AUG 3p-eat, only ART-little(pl)
'The mountain lion eats small goats; he doesn't eat big ones,
just little ones'

(29) **jix-ca'oc-dyo na-t 'ay gu-somaigui'**
COP-sick-RSP that-PST come+down+with ART-cold
'He's sick, all right, having come down with a cold'

Alternative compounding may be either exclusive or inclusive, obligatory or optional, and either the predicate or the participants may alternate (but not both in the same sentence). That is, if P and Q are clauses, with either the predicate or the participants alternating between them, then the following kinds of alternation can occur (illustrated by the example in parentheses); P or Q (30), P or Q or neither (31), P or Q or both (32), and P or Q or both or neither (33).

(30) **jiñ-'oidya-'-ap-a, ca'-p ya'-ca-vi'-ya'**
1s-accompany-2s-PLR, or-2s here-TEMP-remain-FUT
'Are you going with me, or staying here?'

(31) **jɨ'c-ap-quɨ'n jiñ-maqui-a',**
ca' pui'-a, ca' cham ga'ra-'-ap-a
how+much-2s-INSTR 1s-give-FUT,
or thus-PLR, or NEG sell-FUT-2s-PLR
'How much will you give it to me for? or for free? or won't you
sell it?'

(32) **guio bai'-p-va-paxiar-'iñ cavuimuc,**
piam maxdyi, piamcugu' vɨx goc tanohl
and twd-also CMPL-visit-1s tomorrow,
or the+day+after+tomorrow, or all two days
'I'll come back and visit again tomorrow, or else the next day,
or else both days'

(33) **ja'xñi-añ tu-jugui-a'-dyo gu-'imay piam gu-tɨmcahl,**
piam vɨx goc no'-ñ guíhlim jix-bio',
piamcugu' cham, pu-cham jugui-a'-iñ-dyo-ji
Later-1s DUR-eat-FUT-RSP ART-squash or ART-tortilla,
or all two COND-1s very COP-hungry,
or+if NEG, thus-NEG eat-FUT-1s-RSP-AFF
'Later I will eat either the squash or the tortillas, or both if
I'm really hungry; or if I'm not, I won't eat anything at all'

All but the first of the above examples are admittedly a bit strange, for rarely would a speaker give all of these alternatives in such close context. They are, however, grammatically correct and clearly plausible, especially in an utterance where a speaker is thinking out loud. A more natural type of "P or Q or neither" is seen in (34), where the negation of the predicate in the second clause can mean that either the hearer could go with the speaker or stay where he was, or he might choose to go somewhere else instead of doing either of those

two alternatives.

(34) **jiñ-'oidya-'-ap-a, ca' cham**
1s-accompany-FUT-2s-PLR, or NEG
'Are you coming with me or not?'

Additive compounding differs from contrastive compounding in that only the subject (or object) or the predicate is different between the clauses, but not both. It also differs from alternative compounding in that the compounding is always both inclusive and obligatory. The predicates in an additive compound construction often have an inherently temporal relation, but they are not meant by the speaker to indicate a sequence of events as much as a unity of related events. Examples (35) and (36) illustrate compound predicates, (37) a compound subject, and (38) a compound object.

(35) **va-jí-chich, mu-chich va-'ay ruis**
CMPL-went-1p:PERF, there-1p:PERF CMPL-arrived Ruiz
'We left and went to Ruiz'

(36) **guio na más va-r-guë'guër-ca-',**
day na-ch va-tu-vopni-a' guio na-ch mu-tu-jimchuda-'
and that more CMPL-COP-big(pl)-STAT-FUT,
only that-1p CMPL-DUR-weed-FUT and that-1p there-DUR-plow-FUT
'And when (the corn) is bigger, we just weed (the cornfield) and plow there'

(37) **sap-va' gu-buru'x túcav-dɨr quɨc,**
guio gu-casnir guio gu-gagox
said-then ART-donkey deep-from be(standing),
and ART-sheep and ART-dog
'So the donkey, the sheep, and the dog were deep inside (the cave)'

(38) **gu-ma'n-va' mu-tɨ-'ɨxi-a' gu-jun guio gu-bav,**
'imay, chílac
ART-one-then there-DUR-plant-FUT ART-corn and ART-beans,
yellow+squash, green+squash
'Then one person plants corn, beans, and yellow and green squash there'

The time and locational setting of a semantic sentence, although not central parts of the proposition, are important components of the meaning of the sentence. Time setting can be punctiliar (e.g., **tumincuta'm** 'on Sunday', **bán** 'in the month of', **cavuimuc** 'tomorrow', **tacav** 'yesterday', **xiv** 'today, now' **jumay chanohl** 'another day', **jano'** 'in that time'), linear (e.g., with **ca-** 'temporal prefix' meaning "meanwhile, during"), ablative (e.g., **mi'dyɨr** 'then', **gatuc** 'afterwards'), dative (e.g., **hasta** 'until (Spanish)', **vɨpɨ'** 'before'), elapsed (e.g., **vamɨquim** 'a while ago'), repetitive (e.g., **navap masa'n** 'each month', **gu-jumay 'oidya** 'the next year'), or general (e.g., **gammɨjɨ** 'always', **pai'jɨ** 'sometimes'). Example (39) shows a punctiliar time adverb, (40) a dative, and (41) a repetitive adverb.

(39) **guio-'p jir-piasta-ca-' bán julio na-m tu-vapc'chu'n-da'**
and-also COP-fiesta-STAT-FUT in+the+month+of July that-3p
DUR-race(pl)-FUT+CONT
'In July there's going to be another fiesta when they have (horse) races'

(40) **vɬpɬ'-ñich tɬ gu-jipopótamos, gatuc gu-'alipantis**
first-1s:PERF see:PERF ART-hippos, later ART-elephants
'First I saw the hippos, and later (or afterwards) the elephants'

(41) **guio-ch-'ɬp tu-moicda-' na-ch mi-tɬ-'ɬxi-a' gu-jumay 'oidya' buiyax-quɬ'n**
and-1p-again DUR-soften-FUT that-1p there-DUR-plant-FUT ART-another year bulls-INSTR
'We also prepare the ground again with bulls in order to (be ready to) plant there the next year'

Location setting can be either linear or punctiliar, or general (e.g., **champai'** 'nowhere', **mija'ppai'** 'around there somewhere'), internal (e.g., **-tɬr** 'inside a closed area', **-ta'm** 'inside a semi-closed area', **-ɬrav** 'in the middle of', **vɬx najɬ'x jir**(place) 'throughout, everywhere in'), external (e.g., **dɬrapdɬr** 'outside of', **ju'ñdyaram** 'on the outskirts of'), proximate (e.g., **mi'**(**napai'**) 'at the place where', **mia'n** 'near to', **vɬx**(path) 'all along'), or distant (e.g., **mɬc** 'far away', **bammɬ** 'far from here (higher elevation, out of sight')). Example (42) illustrates both the use of location setting and specific (i.e., punctiliar) locations in the same sentence.

(42) **jano'-va' gu-jesús mi'-va-'ay**
mu-pue'mlo-de-nasaret-dɬr na-r galilea-cam gu-dɬvir,
mi'-va' gu-juan va-vacua-Ø mi'-acquɬ'n jordán
in+that+time-then ART-Jesus there-CMPL-arrived
there-town-of-Nazareth-from that-COP Galilea-origin ART-land,
there-then ART-John CMPL-washed-3s there-river Jordan
'At that time Jesus came from the town of Nazareth in the region of Galilee, and John baptized him there in the River Jordan'

1.3 Modal Parameters

The modal parameters delineate the relationships between the speaker, the hearer, and the assumed real world. They are the "overlay" relations of the sentence, and as such embody the essential nature of the "speech act". Modal types for SE Tepehuan consist of three illocution types: declarative, interrogative, and imperative; at least two mood types: exclamatory and desiderative; and probably three reality types: factual, contrafactual, and hypothetical.

The illocution types are the grammatical mood of the sentence, and specify the speaker-hearer interaction. The declarative illocution can vary in assurance from uncertain to certain, and can indicate the source of the knowledge being asserted. For example, (43)-(48) are common sentences ranging from uncertain (almost a question) in (43) to absolutely positive in (48);

examples (49)-(51) illustrate general knowledge and two types of second-hand information respectively.[3]

(43) **ya-dá-chi gu-x-cai', 'ap cham mat?**
here-be-maybe ART-COP-governor, you NEG know
'Perhaps the governor is here; do you know?'

(44) **mo-chi ya'-dá / 'añ 'ɬhli'ñ na ya'-dá**
EV-maybe here-be / I think that here-be
'He probably is here / I think he is here'

(45) **ya'-dyo dá, mi'-ñi 'oirɬ vfpɬ'**
here-RSP be, there-SPEC be(walking) before
'He's here, all right; he was just over there a minute ago'

(46) **mo-gu'-r-'am-ji**
EV-but-COP-right-AFF
'That's good (or: Isn't that good!)'

(47) **jir-'am-ji-güi' / jix-bai'-cu-gui**
COP-right-AFF-AUG / COP-good-CONN-AFF
'Very good! / Okay! (or: Excellent!)'

(48) **jir-'am-ji-matguɬm / matguɬm-jir-'am-dyo**
COP-right-AFF-AUG / AUG-COP-right-RSP
'That's absolutely right! (or: That's really great!)'

(49) **'añ mi'-ñi-dyɬr na-sac jir-juctam**
I there-SPEC-from that-known COP-Pine+Town
'I (have come) from the place known as Pine Town'

(50) **jotmɬda'-mɬt bai'-ji-vop gu-ja'tcam hasta mummu na-sap-pai' 'oirɬ gu-jesús**
quickly-3p:PERF twd-INCEP-run:PERF ART-people to there:REM that-said-where be(walking) ART-Jesus
'Quickly the people began to run to wherever it was said that Jesus was'

(51) **jai' jup-cai'ch-'am na-r rimédio gu-vachichil**
others also-say-3p that-COP remedy ART-herb
'Some say that the (herb) is a remedy'

The interrogative illocution can be either polar or content oriented. Polar (i.e., yes/no) questions may presume the answer in various degrees, as in (52)-(55), where (53) is the most neutral in assurance. Content questions ask for a constituent or set of constituents to be specified, as in (56)-(61).

(52) **jir-'am-a?-chi**
COP-right-PLR-maybe
'Perhaps it is correct?'

(53) **jir-'am-a', ca' cham**
COP-right-PLR, or NEG
'Is this correct, or not?'

(54) **tu-juan-'ap-a'**
DUR-work-2s-PLR
'Are you working?'

(55) **tu-juan-'ap-hi-a**
DUR-work-2s-AFF-PLR
'So you are working, are you?'

(56) **jarõ mi-quio mi'-quícham**
who there-live(sg) there-home
'Who lives there in that home?'

(57) **tu'-p 'ua'**
what-2s carry
'What are you carrying?'

(58) **pá-pich va-jí**
where-2s:PERF CMPL-go:PERF
'Where are you going?'

(59) **pa-p-duc ja'c-va-guɨxi-a'**
when-2s-X gen+area-CMPL-return(sg)-FUT
'When will you return?'

(60) **jax-cu-pich-va' cham ba-jí tacav**
how-CONN-2s:PERF then NEG twd-go:PERF yest.
'Why didn't you come yesterday?'

(61) **jax-ap-ja'c cupio'ca-'**
how-2s-way open-FUT
'How will you open it?'

The imperative illocution varies along three parameters: (1) the degree of compulsion, (2) the source of compulsion, and (3) the object of the compulsion. Generally, three degrees of compulsion indicate whether the obligation is a command, a request, or a suggestion. Examples (62)-(64) respectively illustrate these.

(62) **ba-i'-xi-jim, mi'-xi-mac gu-chio'ñ gu-vonma-'n**
twd-SPEC-IMPER-go, there-IMPER-give ART-man ART-hat-PSD
'Come here, give the man his hat!'

(63) **ba-jim na-p xi-maqui-a' gu-chio'ñ gu-vonma-'n**
twd-go that-2s IMPER-give-FUT
'Please come here to give the man his hat'

(64) **cha-'p mu-jimi-a' /**
mu-jimi-a'-ap na-p va-maqui-a' gu-chio'ñ gu-vonma-'n
NEG-2s away-go-FUT / away-go-FUT-2s that-2s CMPL-give-FUT...
'Why don't you go / I suggest that you go to give the man his hat'

The source of the compulsion of the imperative can be first person, as in (62)-(64); second person, as in (65); third person, as in (66); or general, as in (67).

(65) **jix-bai' na-p ba-jimi-a' cavuimuc**
COP-good that-2s twd-go-FUT tom.
'You should come tomorrow'

(66) **bai'-sap-xi-jim / ba-jim-sap**
twd-said-IMPER-go / twd-go-said
'He (they) said to come! / He (they) want you to come'

(67) **tianique na-p ba-jimi-a' cavuimuc**
tiene+que(Spanish) that-2s twd-go-FUT tomorrow
'You must (or: are obliged to) come tomorrow'

The object of the compulsion can be second person singular, as in (62)-(64). Or it can be first or third person singular or third person plural, as in (68)-(69), where it appears to be a minimalizer of the described action. When it is first or second person plural, however, it has ordinary imperative force, as in (70) and (71).

(68) **'añ ca-xi-cóxi-m**
I TEMP-IMPER-sleep-DESID
'I should go and sleep now (or: I guess I'll go and sleep now)'

(69) **mu-tɨsdɨ-ji jum-ta'm,**
nai'-xi-chɨ-ntidya-t tu-cua'-da' joidyam
away-go+up-AFF corn-on,
all+around-IMPER-DUR-PST DUR-eat-FUT+CONT ADV
'(the badger) goes up there on the cornstalk and eats happily,
looking all around'

(70) **maic-ach va-tu-coi'-po'**
IMPER:1p-1p CMPL-DUR-eat-FUT:REM(pl)
'Let's go eat now!'

(71) **bai'-gor-xi-jim, cha-'pim juan-da'**
twd-2p:VOC-IMPER-go, NEG-2p work-FUT+CONT
'Come here (you all); stop doing that!'

Two clear mood types can be identified for SE Tepehuan, those of exclamation and desire. Apparently surprise, pleasure, and admiration all come under the scope of exclamation, since little evidence can be found to separate between them, as examples (72) and (73) show.[4]

(72) 'á-gu' pu'-jani-hi-a!
INJC-but thus-AFF-AFF-PLR
'Oh, really! (or: You don't say!)'

(73) 'á-va-tɬ-pich-hi-hi-a!
INJC-CMPL-find:PERF-2s:PERF-AFF-AFF-PLR
'Oh, so you found it, did you?'

Desire in a semantic sentence is indicated by a complement construction with the copula predicate jix-'a' 'want' as matrix predicate, as in (74).

(74) jix-'a'-iñ na-m va-m-paxiara-m cavuimuc
COP-want-1s that-3p CMPL-2s-visit-DESID tomorrow
'I want them to go and visit you tomorrow'

Reality types are apparently of three kinds in SE Tepehuan. A matrix predicate can indicate the veracity or non-veracity of a sentence, as in (75) and (76) respectively, or a hypothetical situation can be set up, as in (14) and (15) above.

(75) jir-sɬhlcam na-t va-jí
COP-true that-PST CMPL-went
'It's true that he left'

(76) cham jir-sɬhlcam na-ñ m-jimi-a' cavuimuc
NEG COP-true that-1s away-go-FUT tomorrow
'It's not true that I am going there tomorrow'

1.4 Presupposition

An adequate description of most of the semantic prosodies that affect relations between clauses (e.g., time movement, information flow, reference and assertion structure) await further discourse analysis. In Section 2.2 a preliminary attempt at describing super-clausal topicalization is given, as well as some indications as to sentence cohesion from the syntactical viewpoint. The only other essential semantic element in the composition of the sentence is presupposition.

The presuppositional structure of a semantic sentence consists of encyclopedic information, structural constraints on sentence types, and contraexpectancies. The encyclopedia may contain universally known, culturally known, or contextually known information necessary for the understanding of the sentence, information the speaker expects the hearer to already know. Thus it is presupposed information on the part of the speaker, and usually is not explicitly stated. For example, in order to understand (77) properly, the hearer must have in his encyclopedia the following information: (i) dogs usually sleep by the side of the house and attack anyone who approaches (culturally known); (ii) domestic animals startled by a dog charging at them barking will run in the other direction (universally known); and (iii) the cow that is the subject of the second clause is the same as the cow identified in the previous sentence of the discourse that was coming toward the house to eat the beans that the resident had spread out in the sun on the ground to dry (contextually

known).

(77) gu-gagox-va' mui'-ji-torqui, gamai' ji-mf gu-vac
ART-dog-then away-INCEP-barked, farther INCEP-ran ART-cow
'Then the dog (took off) after him barking, and the cow began to run in the other direction'

Structural presuppositions are those presuppostions of time, information flow, reference and assertion structure that each semantic sentence inherently contains as part of its makeup. Contraexpectancies, then, are violations of the encyclopedic or structural presuppositions. For example, in (78), taken from a creation folk tale, the last clause is a contraexpectancy of the contextural encyclopedia, since up to that point the narrator had been relating how the first man was surprised when he went home every day after working in his field, to find a stack of hot tortillas ready for him to eat, since his only earthly companion was a dog. So he spied on him.

(78) vueno na-t-va'-gu' bai'-ji-'ai-hi-a na-t-pai'
mijí-dír vus, gu'-r 'uví
well that-PST-then-but twd-INCEP-arrived-AFF-PLR
that-PST-where ahead-from came+out, but-COP woman
'Well then, the man snuck up to where (he could see) when the dog came out, but it was a woman!'

2. Surface Structures

The surface sentence is seen as that part of an utterance containing at least one main clause with any dependent clauses that relate to it syntactically (cf. Thomas 1975:114). The surface sentence is thus the most common expression of the semantic sentence, although it could also be expressed as a surface clause or paragraph. In seeking to describe the sentence in SE Tepehuan, the common multi-clausal combinations were examined and several distinct types emerged, all apparently the corresponding surface structures for the various semantic sentence structures seen in section 1.

2.1 Basic Syntactic Types

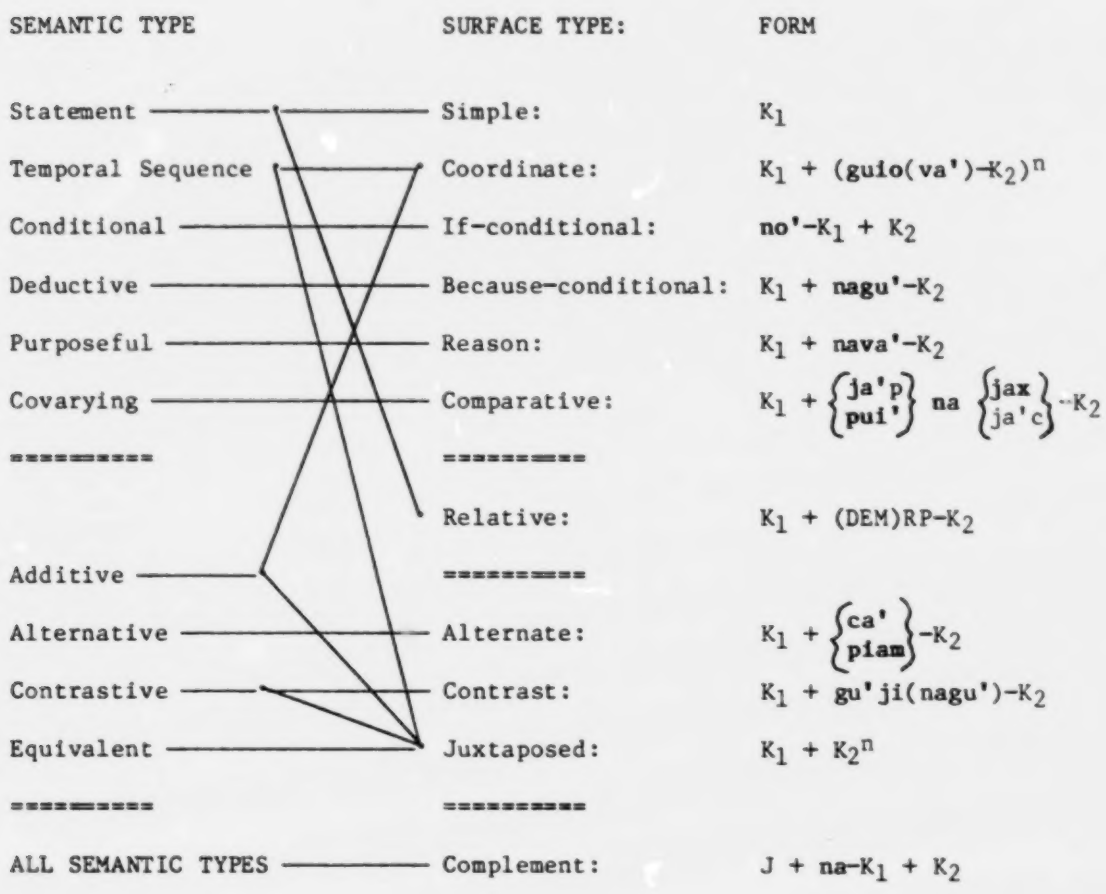
The basic multi-clausal syntactical types are: simple, coordinate, two types of conditional, reason, and comparative; also alternate, contrast, and juxtaposed; and relative and complement. The first six types correspond to the six basic prepositional types discussed in Section 1.1 with no overlapping of forms (i.e., the correspondence is homomorphic). One of these six and the next three correspond to the compounding types discussed in Section 1.2. The last two are syntactic devices for subordination that correspond to specific sets of semantic types.

The formulas given for these surface forms show normal ordering of the clauses and their associated conjunctions. This order may be permuted except in the relative, alternate, and contrast forms, where, as noted below, the conjunction may not introduce the first clause of the sentence. That is, in all

other forms, the conjunctions associated with the clauses may be used at the discretion of the speaker to introduce any one of them. But, since relative clauses always follow their heads, and since no alternative or contrast can be stated without reference to a previous event or state, these forms do not allow for the option of permuting the conjunction with the first clause.

Figure 1

Corresponding Surface Forms of Semantic Sentences



where:

K_i = clause,
J = a restricted set of matrix predicates,
\+ indicates boundary between clauses,
\- indicates the boundary between a conjunction and the clause it introduces as its initial constituent.

As can be seen from Figure 1, the simple sentence consists of only one clause, plus sentence-type prosodies discussed in Section 2.2. This is the corresponding surface form of the semantic statement, which also has only one clause as constituent. Numerous examples of this form have already been cited in Section 1.

The coordinate sentence consists of two or more clauses joined by a coodinating conjunction. This is the corresponding surface form of the temporal sequence and of additive compounding. This fact may be sufficient evidence to say that the temporal sequence is not, in fact a separate semantic type, but rather a special type of additive compounding with a definite time movement. The question is raised but not solved here; surely further research will give a more satisfactory answer to this query.

The conditional sentences are of two types: those that introduce one clause, usually the first, with the conditional particle **no'** 'if'; and those that introduce one clause, usually the last, with the conditional particle combination **nagu'** 'because'. The if-conditional sentence is the corresponding surface form of the semantic conditional sentence, while the because-conditional sentence is the corresponding form of the deductive semantic sentence.

Two uses of the if-conditional sentence form are seen in SE Tepehuan. The first is the normal usage corresponding to the basic semantic function of the sentence, as in (79), where the conditional particle introduces the first clause, and (80) where it introduces the second clause.

(79) **no'-chich-pai' mamá, tu-viñdya-' gu-vaisɨhl**
if-1p-:PERF-where ferment:PERF, DUR-suck-FUT ART-badger
'Wherever we have some (maguey) fermenting, the badger will suck on it'

(80) **jum-maqui-a'-iñ-dyo no'-p jix-joi'ñ**
2s-give-FUT-1s-RSP if-2s COP-desire
'Sure, I'll give it to you if you (really) want it'

As discussed in Section 1.1, three tense patterns can occur in the if-conditional. These are the means by which the speaker expresses the various degrees of assurance there are about the conditional proposition. As seen in examples (10)-(15), the surface forms of these tenses are: the zero morpheme for present tense, the suffix **-a'** for the future tense, truncated stems for the past perfective tense, and the subjunctive suffix **-guɨt** used in coordination with the future tense to indicate the subjunctive mode.

A second usage of the if-conditional surface sentence is for a suggestion, where **no'** 'if' is used contiguous with the contrastive conjunction **gu'** 'but'; or for a polar contrast, where it is used in coordination with the declarative alternative conjunction **piamcugu'** 'or'. These constructions are similar in that the suggestion of (81) is that the person take one of the alternatives (i.e., to take the man as opposed to not taking him), whereas in (82) the speaker gives no hint as to which of the alternatives is preferable.

(81) **no'-p-gu' risivíru-' na-p jix-cuna-m**
if-2s-but accept-FUT that-2s COP-husband-DESID
'Perhaps you will accept, since you want a husband'

(82) **no'-chich tɨ́ piam-cu-gu' cham,**
nagu'-x xijay na-ch 'oihlidya-' na-ch-va' va-tɨ́gui-a'
if-1p:PERF find:PERF or-CONN-but NEG,
because-COP hard that-1p get+there that-1p-then CMPL-find-FUT
'We may find (deer) or we may not, because it's hard to get out there to find them'

The because-conditional sentence apparently most often corresponds to an elliptical form of the deductive semantic sentence. That is, in most surface expressions of the deductive sentence, the clause introduced by the because particle is the general grounds (major premise), or if deleted it introduces the specific grounds (minor premise). Then the other clause in the construction (i.e., the one not introduced by a conjunction) contains the other semantic clause not deleted, either the specific ground or the conclusion. This is true regardless of the order in which the clauses occur. The deletion of each of the three semantic clauses is equally common: (83) shows the major premise deleted, (84) the minor premise, and (85) the conclusion.

(83) **nagu' cham via' gu-vac, cham mat-va' gu quis**
because NEG have cows, NEG know-then ART-cheese
'Because he doesn't have any cows, he doesn't know (how to make) cheese'
(deleted: A person who does not own cows does not know how to make cheese)

(84) **(same as (82))**
(deleted: deer are not always to be found, since they are hard to get to)

(85) **gu-pippihl-dyo-ji na ja-cua', gu-guë'guër cham-ji,**
na-mgu'-x ba'mma' pui'-ɨp na gu-tobav
ART-chicks-RSP-AFF that 3p-eat, ART-big(pl) NEG-AFF,
because-3p-X-COP dangerous(pl) thus-also that ART-chicken+hawk
'The chicken hawk eats only chicks, not big (chickens), because (the big ones) are just as dangerous as he is'
(deleted: he stays out of danger (i.e., if major premise is: a chicken hawk who eats only chicks will stay out of danger))

The reason sentence is the corresponding surface form for the purposeful sentence. It is so named because it, like the because-conditional, usually deletes one of the clauses of its semantic counterpart since it is in the speaker's encyclopedia. As illustrated in (86), the cause clause is usually deleted, probably because it is easily reconstructable from the result and purpose clauses.

(86) **guio-va' gu-sai'-quɨ'n na-m 'ɨña-' enter-dɨr, nava' cham mu-vapqui-a' gu-dɨvɨr na cham dɨrvata-' gu-may**
and-then ART-grass-INSTR that-3p cover-FUT whole-from, so+that NEG away-enter(pl)-FUT ART-dirt that NEG get+dirty-FUT ART-maguey
'Then they cover the maguey over with grass so that dust will not get in to get it dirty'

One problem in the reason sentence is that the conjunction used to introduce the clause containing the purpose (i.e., **nava'** 'so that') is a frozen form of two useful discourse particles that can also come together as "live" particles with two separate functions, so that the phonological shape of the frozen combination and that of the two conjoined particles is the same, but their semantic functions are different. Such is the case in (87), where the second clause is introduced by **na** 'that' and **va'** 'then' in their primary usages, while the third clause is introduced by **nava'** 'so that' in its reason sentence usage as the introducer of the purpose clause (in coordination with future tense). That the occurrence of the third person plural subject particle in the introducer of the second clause is not a factor here is seen by comparing (87) with (88), where it occurs in the purpose clause introducer.

(87) **guio-va' jɨ'c-im na-m bai'-xi-mim-da',**
na-m-va' ja'c-va-tu-vua-' nava' va-r-viñ-ca-'
and-then how+many-times that-3p twd-IMPER-burn-FUT+CONT,
that-3p-then back-CMPL-DUR-throw-FUT so+that (CMPL-COP-wine-STAT-FUT)
'Then they make it cook (to produce vapor) several times, returning it each time (to be vaporized again), in order to make it into wine'

(88) **no'-t ja'c-va-tu-vua,**
mi'-va-ji-'-ai-ya'-am gu-ja'tcam namva' va-maico-'
COND-PST back-CMPL-DUR-throw,
there-CMPL-INCEP-arrive-FUT-3p ART-people so+that:3p
CMPL-get+drunk-FUT
'When it has been run through (successively), the people begin to arrive in order to get drunk'

Occasionally the purpose clause occurs first in the reason sentence, as in (89). Sometimes, too, more than one reason, or successive reasons built one upon the other, are given, as in (90). These are probably additive or equivalent compounding operating in coordination with the reason sentence. Here the phonological pause between the purpose clauses seems to indicate coordination, not subordination as in (87).

(89) **namva' va-sonvi-a' mu-ja'-c pila'tɨr, va-'ui'ca-'-am**
so+that:3p CMPL-cut+up-FUT there-gen+area trough-in
CMPL-take(pl)-FUT-3p
'In order to cut up (the maguey into little pieces) there at the trough, they take it there'

(90) **na-m-va' va-mɨm-da' mu-ja'c 'orno-tɨr nava' va-totpoqui-a', nava' va-mɨhli-a'**
that-3p-then CMPL-burn-FUT+CONT there-gen+area oven-in so+that CMPL-boil-FUT, so+that CMPL-run-FUT
'Then they cook it there in the oven so that it will boil and run (as vapor through pipes)'

The comparative sentence is the corresponding surface form for the covarying semantic sentence. Seldom, however, is the full covariance stated; usually it is only hinted at by the use of the compasison, which often leaves the ground for the comparison implicit or partially implicit (i.e., in the encyclopedia), as in (91) and (92). Fully stated covariances such as (90) are as rare as fully stated deducted or purposeful sentences.

(91) **jix-mɨhldya' ja'p na to'm**
COP-swift like that rabbit
'He is as swift as a rabbit'

(92) **ja'p-tu'm 'iam-pɨx na mistuiñ**
like-look precisely-DIM that cat
'It is just like a cat in appearance'

The remaining sentences are of two types: (1) those that are the corresponding surface forms of compounding in a semantic sentence, and (2) those that indicate a grammatical dependence of one clause to another. The alternate sentence corresponds to alternative compounding, with the conjunctions **ca'** 'or (interrogative)' and **piam(cugu')** 'or (non-interrogative)' serving to introduce the second clause of the alternation, as previously illustrated in (30)-(33) above. The contrast sentence corresponds to contrastive compounding, with the conjunction **gu'ji** 'but' serving to introduce the second (i.e., the contrastive) clause. The conjunction **nagu'** 'because' is often added to this combination in various contexts, for reasons still obscure, the two serving as one unit. (Apparently when this combination of conjunctions contains the subject particle it takes the suppletive form **cu...jigu'**, where the subject particle follows the connector **cu-**.) Examples (93)-(95) further illustrate this type of sentence, showing the conjunction in its various forms.

(93) **jɨ', jix-jɨpi'ñ-dyo gu-súdai', gu'ji nagu' 'añ dyɨhl cham via' lugar na-ñ tu-vopcon-a' na-ñ-gu' ya'-tu-ñ-mamtuxi'ñ gu-'o'dam-quɨ'n gu-ñi'oc**
yes, COP-cold-RSP ART-water, but because I self NEG have time that-ls DUR-wash(pl)-FUT because ls-X here DUR-ls-teach ART-Indian-INSTR ART-word
'Yes, the water is cold, but I myself don't have time to wash (clothes) because I am studying Tepehuan here'

(94) **jɨ', palɨp-'ahl-añ va-tu-'a'ga, cu-ñ-jigu' más jix-máchi-m-ji**
yes, little-DIM-ls CMPL-DUR-speak, CONN-ls-but more COP-know-DESID-AFF
'Yes, I already speak a little bit, but I want to learn much more'

(95) **jix-mátɨt tu-dú-'iñ-dyo, gu'ji gu-ya'-cam**
na-ñ más jix-ñá na-x 'i'ov
COP-know+how DUR-make+tortillas-1s-RSP, but ART-here-origin
that-1s more COP-like+to+eat that-COP delicious
'I know how to make tortillas, all right, but I like the ones (made) here better since they are so delicious'

The juxtaposed sentence corresponds in most cases to equivalent compounding. As with the coordinate sentence which corresponds to additive compounding, the clause can be compounded more than once, although usually not more than twice, as in (96).

(96) **sap-va' pui'-oirɨ-da' ya' gu-ch-ju'hl-ji-a,**
jix-'abar gu-'uví xi-p-um-dú-jɨi,
na-ñ-jax-chu'm jix-joi'ñ, na-jax-chu'm jiñ-co'rar
said-then thus-be(walking)-FUT+CONT here ART-1p-look+alike-AFF-PLR,
COP-beautiful ART-woman IMPER-also-RFLX-become-FREQ,
that-1s-how-looking COP-desire, that-how-looking 1s-like
'So then our "brother" used to wander around and make himself into a beautiful woman (to tempt us), the kind one desires, the kind one likes'

The juxtaposed sentence is also a possible choice for the expression of a temporal sequence and additive and contrastive compounding. In these cases the conjunction that normally occurs is not used, and phonological pause alone marks the conjoining. An example of this usage for a temporal sequence was seen in (5), for additive compounding in (35), and for contrastive compounding in (24).

The subordinate sentence types are the surface forms that can indicate when one semantic sentence is in a dependent relation to another. The relative sentence type consists of an independent clause or an entire sentence followed by a relative clause, which apparently can only be a semantic statement in nature. That is, the relative clause of the relative sentence, introduced by a relative pronoun, must be only one clause, which is the constituent structure of the statement. This is the only type of semantic sentence that can be in a relative clause, unless (97) could be considered an elliptical temporal sequence, in which case these two clauses would both be relatives. But recalling the tenuous status of temporal sequence as a clearly distinct semantic sentence, this conclusion is probably not justified here. A surface constraint on relative clauses requires the independent clause to occur first so the head can precede the relative.

(97) **guio-va' gu-judas iscariote,**
güi' na-t gatuc tu-'intigar-u gu-jesús
and-then ART-Judas Iscariote,
he that-PST later DUR-hand+over-PST ART-Jesus
'And Judas Iscariot, he that later betrayed Jesus'

Apparently any type of semantic sentence may be the subordinate part of a restricted set of complement construction matrix predicates. This set includes the truth value predicates seen in (75) and (76), causative (expressed by the static predicate **jix'a'** 'want'), quotatives (e.g., "I heard", "he said"), and cognizants (e.g., "I think", "I know"). Matrix predicates that appear to be

restricted further to taking only statements and temporal sequences as complements are attitude predicates (e.g., "I like") and value predicates (e.g., "it's good"). Example (98) shows a cognizant predicate with a conditional sentence as complement.

(98) **'añ jix-mat na-p puder na-p jiñ'dua'ñ-dya-'**
no'p 'a'nda-'-gu⁺t
I COP-know that-2s able that-2s 1s-heal-APPLIC(?)-FUT
COND-2s want-FUT-SBJNCT
'I know that you can heal me if you so wish'

2.2 Other Syntactic Phenomena

Several other factors contribute to the surface form of semantic sentences. Grammatical completeness in various types of sentences has already been discussed. Two other prosodies will be mentioned briefly: topicalization and cohesion.

As demonstrated for clauses (Willett, this volume) there is a type of low-level topicalization which uses linear order to indicate the topic of the clause. That is, the noun phrase that represents the participant being discussed occurs in the last noun-phrase position after the verb. Another type of prominence of noun phrases, however, is also seen in any cursory examination of narrative, procedural, descriptive, or folk texts which is clearly distinct from clause topicalization.

Two syntactic changes signal this type of topicalization. First, the noun phrase[5] is "fronted" to initial position in the clause in which it occurs. Also all the other constitutents of the clause, including any adverbial or other elements that may be in focus and thus also precede the verb, are themselves preceded by the subordinate clause introducer **na**. Thus, for example in (85) above, the topic of the sentence is the chicks, although the subject of the first clause is the chicken hawk, and the subject of the second clause is the bigger chickens.

One explanation of this prevalent phenomenon is that the use of the subordinator particle indicates the speaker's intention to point out the overriding topic for a series of clauses. He does this by ostensibly "subordinating" the rest of the clause in which the nominal occurs, as well as succeeding clauses in which it is also the topic, to it. Another idea (suggested by David Thomas) is that the **na** acts like a case marker for topic, both in the clause introducing the topic, and in subsequent clauses, where it behaves like a pronoun to refer back to the topic already identified. Both explanations seem plausible, and only further discourse analysis can provide the insights necessary to decide which will be more useful in the overall description of the syntax.

Evidently this type of topicalization may not be only sentence topicalization, but also paragraph or even discourse topicalization. Apparently the use of **na** is limited to the first sentence of each paragraph, however. This is clearly seen in the three sentences in (99), all of which are the initial sentences of paragraphs from a short description of the opossum. The sentences

that follow each of these in their respective paragraphs appear to still have the topic of the first sentence as topic, but they no longer rely on the marking device to indicate this relation. Example (100) illustrates the introduction of the sentence topic with **na** as the "pivot" for topicalization, its second indication in the following clause by **na**, and then the absence of **na** in the remaining independent clauses of the sentence. Sentences such as (99) and (100) are both common in natural text, indicating that the use of **na** is optional in the third and subsequent clauses of the sentence.

(99) (a) **dyo-gu' dyi jov na-x lóco', na cham bana', guio na-x ñá gu-may**
well-but this opossum that-COP crazy, that NEG dangerous, and that-COP like+to+eat ART-maguey
'Well now, the opossum is crazy, is not dangerous, and likes to eat maguey stalks'

(b) **guio-va' gu-mɨmɨv na-x ja-ná**
and-then ART-bees that-COP 3p-like+to+eat
'Also, he likes to eat bees'

(c) **guio-va' gu-bai'ñ na-r rimédio gu gavñi'**
and-then ART-tail-PSD that-COP remedy ART-sprains
'Also, his tail is a remedy for sprains'

(100) **mi'-dyɨr gu-búfalos na-ñich jup-ja-tɨ**
na-m jix-guë'guër, jix-ba'mna-guɨm tu'm-'am
there-from ART-buffalos that-1s:PERF also-3p-see:PERF that-3p COP-big(pl), COP-dangerous(pl)-QUAL looking-3p
'Then I saw the buffalos, they are big and dangerous-looking'

The only indications of where surface sentence boundaries are can all be classed under the heading of cohesion. Grammatical cohesion consists of the extent to which a surface sentence completely expresses all of its corresponding semantic sentence. Phonological cohesion indicators are chiefly intonation and stress. That is, in normal speech, the end of a syntactic sentence is marked by a sentence-final intonation consisting of a marked drop in pitch and usually a breath on the part of the speaker. Also, although not yet investigated in any detail, there appear to be definite sentence-level stress patterns which work in coordination with stress in phrase groups. Thus each clause can have a primary stress, usually on the stressed syllable of the most prominent element in the clause, and secondary stress on the other phrase-stressed elements of the clause. Although the stress, intonation drop, and pause do not always coincide, especially in halting speech such as when the speaker is thinking out loud or is nervous, they nonetheless are major indicators of the naturalness of the sentence division in texts.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The comma in citations marks a phonological pause, and the period marks a pause with a substantial drop in intonation.

[2]Although the phonological structure of the sentence has not yet been fully analyzed, there have been observed clear intonational and accentual boundaries (Section 2.2) which indicate the extent of a speaker's intent to relate some units of predication as locutional units as opposed to the other sets of predications.

[3]The question mark in citation forms indicates a rise in pitch on the last syllable.

[4]The exclamation point in citation forms indicates pronounced high to low pitch drop over the syllable.

[5]This discussion concerns third person nominals only. No corresponding topicalization of first or second person (e.g., as specified pronouns) has yet been discovered.

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